[Post-Chaco Period]

between the Terena and their Brazilian neighbors. Economically, the impact of a foreign people was felt in many ways. The proximity of Brazilian farmers, cattlemen, railroad workers, and traders, in itself stimulated a desire for change in habits, customs, and beliefs. The guiding hand of the missionaries and the managers of the Indian Posts affected the life of the Terena more intimately and directly. The missionaries taught the people to wear modern clothes, to use modern tools, and to learn to read Portuguese. The managers of the Posts taught the Indians to build modern houses and to clear land and plant new crops. In addition, they taught them such handicrafts as blacksmithing, bricklaying, leatherwork, and the use of the sewing machine. Inevitably, close association with the Brazilians created changes in the needs of the Terena; the dietary pattern began to change, and new demands for clothing, ornaments, and amusements became integral parts of Terena economy.

The economic effect of these contacts and changes was the growing dependence of the Terena on the money economy of their Brazilian neighbors. In order to get clothes, tools, rice, maté tea, matches, tobacco, and alcoholic beverages the Indians needed money. The railroad and the cattle ranches offered a ready labor market and we find the Terena in increasing numbers going to work as cattle drivers and horse breakers on the ranches and as section hands on the railroad. The labor market also increased travel and a widening consciousness of the non-Indian world. The Indians became acquainted with the larger towns, such as Campo Grande and Porto Esperança. Some of the Terena were stimulated in their desire to learn to read, to do simple arithmetic, and to understand the ways of the strange new world. In addition to the demand for labor, the cattle ranches and the nearby towns of Taunay, Aquidauana, and Miranda offered a ready market for manioc meal, raw sugar, and hand-woven hammocks. In this way wage labor and trade became essential elements in Terena economy.

In spite of these changes subsistence agriculture, even today, forms the basis of livelihood. On their lots the Terena produce manioc, maize, beans, squashes, sugarcane, rice, bananas, oranges, mangoes, and a few additional minor crops. Man-

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7

[POST-Chaco Period] Terena

road company. If these workers are near, they visit the Post on week ends and holidays. Usually all these workers come back to the village when they become ill or too old to work. One complaint the Protestant missionaries make is that a man will leave the village for 6 months, become ill, and then return to the village to be treated. The missionaries claim that the Indians do not take care of themselves when away from the Post, that they spend their money on cane rum instead of buying warm clothing and sufficient food. The general pattern consists in a young man spending several years away from the village, then returning, marrying, and settling in the village. After settling down he goes out to seek employment only occasionally. Since 1942, wages have risen steadily in Brazil owing to inflation, so it is difficult to determine a standard wage at present. Before the war, wages paid for farm and ranch hands ranged from 5 to 10 cruzeiros a day (U. S. $0.25 to $0.50). Today, wages range from 15 to 30 cruzeiros a day (U. S. $0.75 to $1.50), but this money buys no more than before the war. From what has been said it can be seen that wages form an important source of Terena income.

(2) The manager of the Post always employs a number of Terena to work in the fields belonging to the Post, to take care of the Post livestock, and to build and repair the buildings belonging to the Post proper. The number of these workers varies; in January 1947 six men were thus employed. They received 14 cruzeiros a day. The employment of Indians by the Post has other purposes besides the maintenance of the Post. An effort is made to provide work for needy families even when the Post does not actually require their services. Another reason for employing Indians is to train them in building and in such crafts as carpentry, masonry, and blacksmithing. The welfare function of this kind of wage work is revealed by the fact that when a man with a large family is a drunkard the Post manager does not pay him in money but arranges credit for him at a store in Taunay or provides him with foodstuffs from supplies belonging to the Post.

(3) Three men were found to be making their living by carting, that is, transporting goods be-

166 434 464 [197] 465 [434] 434 464 [465] 177 434 464 [452] 434 463 489 494

[p. 15-B]

tween the Post and Taunay or between the Post and the neighboring ranches. One man had a horse and wagon while the other two had two-wheeled oxcarts. Farm produce, building materials, and general merchandise make up the loads. In traveling short distances the Terena usually ride horses or walk; for long-distance travel they use the railroad.

(4) Three men were found to be employed as carpenters in the village. These men were making simple articles of furniture, such as tables and benches, and making or repairing yokes for oxen and parts for sugarcane presses.

(5) Two men, although living at the Post, were employed as masons in Taunay. Sometimes these men worked for the Post and sometimes on special jobs in the neighboring towns. They claimed they received 40 cruzeiros per day.

(6) Two men were making their living as commercial farmers, producing and selling manioc meal, raw sugar, milk, and meat. Some of this produce was sold in the village either to the stores or directly to the Indians. In addition, some produce, particularly manioc meal, was sold to ranches nearby.

(7) One man was found employed in making and repairing shoes and sandals and repairing saddles and harness. Most of his work was supplied by the demands of the village, but missionaries, also, at times used his services.

(8) One old man was found making a living by weaving baskets, fans, and hats from palm fiber. For his fans, which are widely used by Indians and Brazilians alike for maintaining charcoal kitchen fires, he receives 5 cruzeiros apiece from the storekeepers in Taunay.

(9) The remainder of the Terena at the Post were making their living by subsistence agriculture at this time.

Only very general conclusions could be made concerning the money income of the Terena living at Bananal. If approximately 100 men are receiving money income in the form of wages from sources outside the village the year round, this sum would constitute the major portion of the cash available for cash expenditures. Allowing 15 cruzeiros per day (the going wage on ranches) and a 5-day week, this would give the village a total of 390,000 cruzeiros per annum. To this would have to be added the money income of six

Annual budget for family of husband, wife, and 3 children—Continued 511

Clothing for 3 children for year:	Cr. $
5 shirts at Cr. $20	100, 00
3 pairs of pants at Cr. $15	45, 00
3 jackets at Cr. $25	75, 00
Total	220, 00
Total for clothing for family of 5	975, 00
Food and other household items per week:	
Maté tea, 1 kilo	3, 50
Salt, ½ kilo	1, 00
Soap, 2 pieces laundry soap	2, 00
Rice, ¼ kilo	1, 00
Dried meat, 1 kilo	6, 00
Lard, ½ kilo	5, 00
Total for week	18, 50
Total for year	962, 00
Average annual expenditure for family of 5:	
Clothing	975, 00
Food and household items	962, 00
Tools, ornaments, tobacco, kerosene, alcoholic beverages, travel, etc	122, 00
Total	2, 059, 00

LIFE HISTORIES

In order to obtain a more intimate understanding of present-day Terena economy a number of brief life histories of representative individuals was made. These histories, although no more than sketches, give some idea of the economic life of men who follow the occupations just described. 121 159

AN EMPLOYEE OF THE INDIAN POST

Eleuterio Demetrio (native name *Oroopa*) is 34 years old. He was born on a Brazilian cattle ranch. His mother is a Terena woman but he believes his father was a Brazilian. He is married to a Terena woman, the marriage having been performed by a Catholic priest. He has six children (three boys and three girls), one of whom is attending the Protestant mission school at the Post. 159 551 177 792 871

He lives in a two-room house with a lean-to kitchen. The walls of the house are made of upright stakes and plastered with clay; the roof is thatched; the dirt floor is made smooth by being beaten with a heavy piece of wood. Inside the house there are a table, three long wooden benches, and a platform bed resting on forked sticks. 342 352

[P.17-A]

and a platform bed resting on forked sticks. Besides himself, his wife, and six children, the house is shared with his mother, a brother, and a male cousin. Eleuterio, his wife, and the small children sleep on the bed, and the rest of the occupants sleep in hammocks. Eleuterio's wife uses iron kettles for most of the cooking, but clay pots are sometimes used also. The occupants of the house eat out of clay and wooden dishes. The house is situated on a lot in the village and is surrounded by a number of mango and orange trees. Eleuterio has two dogs, a hen with three chicks, and a young rooster.

Eleuterio came to the Post with his uncle and grandfather when he was 5 years old. His grandfather, who was a medicine man, came from the Chaco. Both his uncle and grandfather were baptised in the Catholic faith, although his grandfather never became a regular church member. Eleuterio was also baptised in the Catholic faith. At the Post he attended the Protestant mission school until he was 12. During these years he lived with and worked for the English missionary, herding his livestock and carrying mail, but was not converted to Protestantism.

After leaving school he lived with his uncle until he was 16, assisting him in cultivating his little farm at the Post. He then went to Aquidauana where he worked for 2 years as a mason's assistant and later helped a Japanese vegetable farmer. He then went to work on a fazenda, taking his mother with him.

After working 3 months on the fazenda he returned to the Post to help his grandfather, who was becoming very old. After his grandfather died he married and went to live with his father-in-law, where he remained for 4 years. During this time he, together with some other Indians, worked for a while on the telegraph line. In 1932 he and several other Indians went with the manager of the Post to fight in the revolution, staying away for 6 months.

When he came back he built his own house in the village and began working for the manager of the Post, doing many things, such as building repairs, blacksmithing, and farming, for which he receives 14 cruzeiros per day. He does not cultivate land of his own. He has been the captain of one of the three football teams and the manager of the sports club where dances are given.

[P. 17-B]

He celebrates St. Anthony's Day and participates in the "bate-pau" dance. He often gets drunk and stays away from work. 159

FARMER

José Francisco, nicknamed Japão because of his short stature (native name *Kohilu*), is 58 years old. His great-grandfather was Tovolé, one of the chiefs who led the Terena into Brazil. His grandfather also came from the Chaco, but his father was born in Ipegue, a Terena village, near Bananal. Japão was born on a fazenda, called Agua Tirada. He has four sons and three daughters living, and four sons and a daughter dead. [551]

Japão lives in an adobe house to which three additional rooms have been built from upright stakes covered with palm fronds. His wife is dead, but three sons and two daughters live with him and assist him in farming. He has land outside the village on which he grows manioc, beans, carú, and sweetpotatoes. He raises much of the food which he and his family consume. [342]

His money income is almost entirely derived from the sale of manioc meal. However, between planting intervals he goes out on task jobs to the nearby fazendas. The money he receives is used for buying clothing, tools, and additional food. He is also chief of police at the Post but receives no money for this.

Japão was baptized in the Protestant faith and is a member of the Sociedade Evangelista. He was taught to read and write by the Protestant missionary at the Post. He reads the Bible in Spanish and preaches to the Indians in Portuguese. [795] [797] [212]

He likes to travel and claims he traveled much while working on the telegraph line and when he was a cattle driver.

SILVERSMITH

Antonio Vicenti (native name *Pikihí*) is 47 years old. He was born in Bananal and was baptized a Catholic when quite young. He learned to read and write and became a Protestant when he was 12 years of age. He reads the Bible and speaks, besides Terena and Portuguese, Spanish and a little Guaraní. He has a daughter and two sons, one of whom was in Italy during World War II as a soldier in the Brazilian Army. He has lost four children and his wife, who died about 15 [551] [795] [212] [191]

In 159
one room there is a bed and hammocks, and the [352]
other room is set up with shelves and a counter. [353]
His goods are on the shelves or on the floor behind [405]
the counter. He has a beam scale suspended from
the ceiling.

Domingos and his family cultivate a large field [241]
outside the village, growing manioc and sugar- [443]
cane. He produces manioc meal and raw sugar, [938]
which he sells in his store. In Taunay he buys
rice, maté tea, beans, salt, kerosene, matches, cig-
arettes, soap, white sugar, and candy, which he sells
to the Indians.

Domingos learned to read and write and to do [891]
simple arithmetic in the mission school. Until 15, [999]
he worked with his father on his little farm. Later
he went periodically to work on the neighboring
fazendas. In 1932 he began selling meat and other
goods, but when his wife died he abandoned the
store for some years and worked away from the
village.

CARTER

Antonio Aurelio was born in Bananal about 65
years ago. He is married and has six grown
children. Aurelio, his wife, and four of his chil- [592]
dren live in a five-room, painted adobe house with
a tile roof. The furniture consists of home-made [352]
tables, chairs, and benches, and a bed for Aurelio [513]
and his wife. The children sleep in hammocks.
In his front room Aurelio has an old typewriter [405]
and on a shelf two old cameras, which he takes [416]
great pride in being able to use.

Aurelio owns two horses, a cow, a calf, a dog, [231]
10 chickens, and 4 turtles. Outside the village he
cultivates five lots, growing principally manioc. [241]
His daughters make manioc meal, which he sells
to the Indians. Aurelio himself transports goods [494]
and people between the railroad station at Taunay
and the Post. He charges 10 to 20 cruzeiros for a
trip to the station, some 4 km. away.

Aurelio learned reading, writing, and arithme- [212]
tic from a Brazilian while he was working away [797]
from Bananal. He later studied with a Protestant
missionary. He now reads the Bible in Portu-
guese, Spanish, and Guaraní. He understands a [191]
little English. He reads newspapers and is the
scribe of the village. He has traveled widely, first
as a cattle driver and later when he gave evidence
about Indian affairs in Rio de Janeiro.

head of livestock with him. Later he worked on roads and with the money earned he bought more livestock and a cart. He is well acquainted with the larger towns in southern Mato Grosso. He claims that he does not make enough money from his livestock to live and has to work for the Post on occasion. 159 [231] [511]

SHOEMAKER

Feliciano de Morais was born in Miranda, his father being Portuguese and his mother Guaicurú. He married a Brazilian woman, whom he left owing to her bad conduct. He then married a Terena woman, who left him because they always quarreled about his Guaicurú ancestors, whom his wife despised. He later heard that the Guaicurú were a famous people and felt more pleased. Being married to a Terena woman gave him the right to live in Bananal. 159 563

Feliciano, his son, and two daughters, live in a stake-walled one-room house, one side opening onto a shed where he has his work bench. [342]

Feliciano learned to read and write when he was a boy. He is a Catholic, but gets on very well with the Protestants. He was trained to be a carpenter but later learned shoemaking and leatherwork. He now makes and mends shoes and repairs harness for people in the village and for people on the neighboring farms. He is quite satisfied with his life in Bananal and wants to remain. He does not associate much with the Terena because he claims they are dangerous when they get drunk. He is, however, always willing to help them by giving remedies and blessings to the sick. The Terena like him. [212] [794] [463] [282]

MASON

Domingos Verissimo Marcos, who is about 20 years of age, is the son of Terena parents. He learned to read and write at the Protestant mission school. He reads the Bible and sometimes newspapers. 159 [212] [997]

After leaving school he worked as a laborer on farms, where he learned to be a mason. For a while he worked as an assistant to Aurelio's son who is a mason in Aquidauana. At present, he is living with Domingos Miguel, the storekeeper, but intends to go out to work for a while before he marries and settles down in Bananal.

[Bananal village] 353 412

Such articles as axes, machetes, sickles, hoes, and weaving frames and material for weaving baskets and hammocks are usually found in the corner of the back room. Mats made from "piri" are found in some of the houses (such as were used in the Chaco days). [285]

CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

At this point it is necessary to mention only the common everyday wearing apparel and the personal appearance of the Terena, as ceremonial dress will be described in the section on dances. In the village of Bananal all Indians wear European dress. The cotton cloth woven by the Terena forms only a small part of the material used for making their present-day clothing, as the Indians now buy the cheap cotton material offered for sale in the stores of Taunay, Miranda, and Aquidauana. After 30 years of mission training, it appears that all women can sew and eight sewing machines were observed in the village. 291 [177] [286] [439] [797] [294]

The general custom is for everyone to go barefoot. Only during "festas" are shoes worn by the more wealthy men and women, and even then people over 60 years old wear sandals made from hides or from old rubber tires. Shoes, like hats, are definitely in the category of luxuries. [292]

For everyday wear, men use a shirt and a pair of trousers made from light-colored cotton material, usually with a faint stripe or check. No undershirt is used, but shorts are worn. Sport shirts worn over the shirt and outside the trousers are popular with young men. Some of the Terena men go about dressed in old Brazilian army uniforms which they received while serving in the army or which they have bought from others. During dances some of the young men wear suits made from cheap, tan-colored, cotton material. The young men also take great pride in being able to wear the baggy breeches and broadbrimmed felt hat of the "gaucho," or Brazilian cowboy.

Men have their hair cut in the modern style, and it is a common sight on Sunday mornings to see them cutting each other's hair in front of the houses. Although they wash their hair often, it is seldom combed. Men are usually clean-shaven, although a few wear mustaches; straggly beards are seen only on the very old men. 302

Women wear slips and dresses made from cheap cotton print of various colors. They do not wear coats, although hand-knitted sweaters are seen. 291

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organized on a basis of new forms of opposition which have largely replaced the old dual organization but which continue the underlying social motives for organized opposition. The Terena are keenly aware of these new social activities and their competitive nature, and most of their leisure time is taken up in training for, carrying on, or otherwise participating in these activities.

The Terena admit that they had slaves when they arrived in Brazil, yet, they are, today, at a loss to explain what happened to them. As slaves were captured as children it is not likely that they returned to their original homes. On the other hand, the Terena never mention anyone as having slave blood, something which is still customary among the Caduveo. The Terena also deny that they married slaves. If this were strictly true the only tenable hypothesis is that the slave class as a social group lost its identity along with the general disappearance of social stratification. The fact that slavery was made illegal in Brazil in 1888 undoubtedly had its effect, but important, too, was the effect of the Protestant missionaries, who have been active among the Terena since 1913.

Another circumstance which in all probability led to the disappearance of the distinction between slave and free man was the dispersion of the Terena during the eighties and nineties of the last century. The encroachment of the "fazendeiros" upon Terena lands forced the Terena to seek a livelihood through wage labor. This tended to put all Terena on the same economic and social level. When they again came together on reservation lands around 1910, the old class distinctions were more or less effaced. A new generation had grown up in the meantime which had not participated in the old pattern of tribal life. This fact of dispersion and subsequent regrouping is something which the Caduveo did not experience and may account for the more rapid disappearance of class distinctions among the Terena than is true among the Caduveo. Another contributing factor may be the fact that the Terena developed a class structure later than the Mbayá and that it never became so strong a part of their social organization as it did among the Mbayá.

The primary cause for the disappearance, not only of slavery but of the whole class structure of *unati*, *shuna'asheti*, *wahereshane*, and *kauti*, was the forced abandonment of warfare and the no-

madic life based on the horse. Class structure among the horse-using Indians of the Chaco was intimately associated with raiding the livestock and children of their settled neighbors. Individuals who were successful raiders accumulated wealth and honor and became a class apart. One form of wealth consisted of human beings, or slaves. When the Terena entered Brazil and settled down as farmers and wage workers this pattern of life was abandoned and along with it the class structure. 178 182 565

The unity of the extended family and the kindred was weakened in much the same way. The economic and political bands which drew Terena kinsfolk together in the Chaco gradually fell into disuse in Brazil. During the dispersion when families had to scatter far and wide to gain a livelihood on the fazendas, in towns, and in railroad camps the dependence of kinsmen upon one another for economic assistance was not possible. Each family tended to become a self-sustaining unit, dependent upon its own efforts to maintain itself through labor or beggary when work was not available. This condition of family independence was not changed with the settlement of the Terena on Government lands. The Post was the new protector and provider. In sickness and in want the family could call on the manager of the Post for assistance. The Post provided land, tools, and building materials to families who wished to establish themselves on reservation lands. Work was available if the crops failed. Medical assistance was also given free of charge. In those Terena villages where missionaries, both Protestant and Catholic, were active, additional economic and medical assistance was available. The Terena no longer live in large houses occupied by an extended family, the members of which cooperate in economic activities and provide mutual assistance, but in smaller family homes, each family depending upon agriculture and wage work and, if these sources fail, upon the help of the Post and the mission station. 178 182 596 [648] [747] [342]

The extended family lost its political functions also. In the past, members of an extended family banded together to protect the life, property, and honor of each other. Today, any individual can seek this protection from the manager of the Post and his police force. The Terena now live under Brazilian law as represented by the Post manager.

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
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fences, and provides them with credit if they wish to buy oxen, horses, saddles, and other equipment beyond their immediate capacity to pay. On the other hand, if the men are drunkards and shirk their duties to their families and the Post, they are required to work and receive not money but credit for food and clothing at a certain store in the nearby town of Taunay. It follows from this that the manager has close friends and also enemies. The present manager of Bananal claims that he has an armed Indian bodyguard to protect him from Indians who hate him for enforcing Indian Service regulations. How much of this is really due to specific Indian ill will or to the prevalent custom in Mato Grosso of important men having bodyguards is not quite certain. At least we can say that social status or the lack of status is closely connected with the manager of the Post.

The other contact agent and molding force among the Terena is the Protestant mission station. The activities of the missionaries go far beyond the inculcation of Protestant religious doctrine. Besides religious teaching the missionaries supervise the moral behavior of their followers. Smoking, drinking, dancing, and sex irregularities are prohibited, and the breaking of these rules results in a loss of status, and of economic, medical, and educational assistance. The son of the present chief who had caused the pregnancy of a girl in the village was asked by the missionaries to marry the girl. For one reason or another the chief's son refused to do so. The Protestant missionaries were powerful enough to have the man exiled from the village. This caused considerable disturbance among the Indians, as neither the Indians nor the Brazilians take the same view of the unmarried mother as do the American Protestant missionaries. On the writer's last visit to Bananal both the chief and his son had withdrawn from the settlement and were living in a nearby town, at least temporarily. Actually this matter had repercussions on higher levels, for the Indian Service closed the Protestant school for some months. This event reveals the power and importance of the Protestant missionaries in influencing life in the village. Conformity to the Protestant way of life is customarily achieved through economic and medical rewards, and it does seem true that the Protestant Indians have better and cleaner houses and are educationally more advanced. Yet, it is

177 554 648 177 797 [684] [648]

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
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also true that the status-giving capacity of the manager and the missionaries leads to tension and discord. The role of Catholic missionaries, also Americans, is much less important. They visit the settlements only occasionally and are concerned almost solely with questions of religious belief, births, marriages, and deaths.

The economic contacts of the Terena outside the villages are restricted to the fazendas, the railroad, and the towns. It is on the fazendas and the railroad that the Terena make most of their cash incomes, and where they learn to use tools and other mechanical techniques. In the towns the Terena learn such arts as carpentry, tailoring, and masonry of a more advanced order than in the villages. In the towns, too, they come into contact with a variety of individuals, the movies, bars, and houses of prostitution. It is here where the men learn to dress better and where the girls learn the custom of using lipstick, face powder, and having their hair waved. A more organized form of contact with the towns is by means of football games played by Terena teams against the town teams.

Although every young Terena has the right to go out to work, and some of them spend a number of years away from the villages, none, so far, according to the manager of Bananal, has achieved success or independence in the Brazilian community. Sooner or later they return. In Campo Grande, the largest town in southern Mato Grosso, a young Terena was working as a waiter in a hotel. When the manager of the hotel was asked what he thought of the services of the Terena waiter, he said, "He is the laziest waiter I have." So far the Terena have not shown a capacity to advance further than supplying the common labor market on the fazendas, the railroad, and in the towns. When they grow tired of working they return to their native villages.

SUMMARY

Enough has been said to enable us to outline briefly the main features of the development of Terena social organization in post-Columbian times.

1. In association with, and perhaps in reaction to the Mbayá, the Terena developed a military and class organization based on the use of the horse for raiding. The resulting mobility led to

[P. 37-A]

to the child, the name usually being that of a relative long dead. A mother suckled a child until a new baby was born or until the child was able to eat solid food. A child was carried strapped on the mother's back by a belt called *apóone* or held by the same strap in front while suckling. For short distances small children were carried straddling the hip of the bearer. Childbirth appears to have been treated purely as a secular event, for the Terena remember no special ceremonies or rites connected with it.

Today, childbirth is treated in the Brazilian fashion. In cases of difficult birth the missionaries are present to give medical help. They also give advice in the care of children. The infant is baptized into either the Catholic or Protestant faith. In addition to receiving a Brazilian name, the child also receives a Terena name. It is whispered that abortion and even infanticide are still occasionally practiced.

PUBERTY

Although the puberty ceremony for boys and girls is no longer practiced, the Terena say that in the past each family celebrated the coming of age of its children, only the chiefly class giving a public ceremony. When a chief's daughter reached the age of puberty, *iyoti*, her kinswomen fastened a small bell, *tohí*, over the doorway of her house, which was periodically struck by one of the women. The girl painted her body black with "genipapo" or red with "urucú" and sat cross-legged on a reed mat in the center of the house. The women of the village then brought cotton and beans which they threw over the head of the girl. The kinswomen of the girl gave the visitors food and drink. There was no long period of seclusion, as this ceremony lasted for 1 day only.

Even today, menstruating women paint themselves black and abstain from washing as in the past. Contact with water is believed to cause the enmity of a certain water witch that lives in a lake or river and controls the supply of fish.

In the past, the sons of the chiefs went through a public ceremony at puberty called *tima*. The principal part of the ceremony consisted in the boy approaching his father dressed in a light-red blanket which he took off, then donning a dark-red blanket handed him by his father. The dark-red blanket was a symbol not only of adulthood but

lost two wives, he could marry only a woman who had lost two husbands. Even with all the precautions taken against the ghost, the influence of death clung to individuals who had been intimately connected with a dead person. Today, burial is performed in a Christian manner although some of the old women still mourn by cutting their hair.

765 [587] [177]

MODERN CHANGES

Today the whole cycle of events which mark the important changes of status in individual lives has been changed. Children are baptized, youths go through confirmation, people are married, and are finally buried by the Church. An important period in the life of every young Terena is the time he or she goes to school. It is in the school that they learn, not only to read and write, but to understand the religion, ways, and customs of the people among whom they live.

178 797 [871]

There are two schools in Bananal, one the official Catholic school, the other, operated by Protestant missionaries. The Protestant school was established in 1925. Until 1935 studies were carried on in the house of the chief. After this date a separate schoolhouse was built. In 1936 the Indian Service built the official Government school. The curriculum is the same in both schools, being determined by law. The religious teaching, however, is different. The school year begins on February 15 and ends on November 15, winter holidays extending from June 15 to July 1. Classes begin at 8 o'clock in the morning and go on until 11 o'clock with a 10-minute recess at 9:30.

797 871

The Protestant school today has about 100 students, with one American teacher and 3 Terena girls as assistant teachers. In 1936 the enrollment reached 120. About 20 new students enter each year. By law, students must attend school for 4 years. The three assistant teachers are in charge of the first 3 years, the missionary teacher instructing the advanced students in the fourth year. In the first 2 years the students buy only a slate and a few exercise books and pencils. In the last 2 years they have to buy textbooks. In the first 2 years they learn reading, writing, and simple arithmetic. In the last 2 years courses in geography, Brazilian history, grammar, drawing, and a little natural science is added. For half an hour every morning teaching of the gospel

797 872

is given. All Terena children are welcome at the Protestant school irrespective of the religious faith of their parents. Children receive medical attention if they are ill and report their illness to the missionaries. Boys and girls attend school together, the teachers insisting that each child be dressed in clean clothing. Outside of being kept in after school, there is no other form of punishment.

The official Government school has an attendance of about 37 students. The wife of the manager of the Post acts as a teacher, with a Brazilian girl as an assistant. The curriculum is the same as at the Protestant school. The Terena prefer to send their children to the Protestant school because they believe they learn more and will finish the 4-year course of instruction. Pupils tend to leave the Government school as soon as they are able to read and write a little. The Protestant school also gives prizes to good students, consisting of articles of clothing and books.

The Protestant missionaries have established schools in all the larger Terena villages. At Ipegue there is a school with 80 pupils and at Moreira a school with 50 pupils. The missionaries say that Terena children are industrious and learn rather quickly. Yet, they say that no Terena student has gone beyond the 4 years, even when they have an opportunity in some of the neighboring towns. Even at that, the present status of education among the Terena compares well with the prevalent illiteracy in the rural areas of Brazil.

RELIGION

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

The old Terena believed in a "High God," *Itukoviche*, in the culture hero twins, *Yúrikoyuvakái*, and in such evil spirits as *Vanónu*, *Voropí*, and *Hihíaimé*. Insofar as all things were believed to have a soul the Terena can be said to have believed in animism. Magic was based on the belief that certain plants, animals, and inanimate objects possessed powers which could be used to bring about good or evil results. Shamanism was highly developed and the spirits of dead shamans were used by living shamans to influence the affairs of men. Ghosts of the dead were feared, as they were believed to cause death if permitted

[Chaco Period]
[Post Chaco Period]

of meat from his mouth, blow on it until it took the form of a snake, later making it disappear into his mouth; or he would take a small plant from his mouth and by blowing on it make it grow into a large flowering plant, later making it diminish and disappear.

This performance of miracles would continue before the house of each shaman. When this part of the *ohéo'koti* was completed the shamans withdrew to appear again dressed in red mantles called *haráramototi*. Again they marched before each house stopping at the houses of the shamans where each shaman would give his colleagues the mead which he had prepared. After all the mead had been consumed the shamans retired and the *ohéo'koti* was finished for the season.

Among the Terena, shamans had, in the past, a position of extraordinary prestige. This high status was due, no doubt, in part to their alleged power to cure, to discover lost objects, to assist in hunting, and to discover the location of enemy war parties, and, in part, to their alleged power to perform miracles. Besides participating intimately in the fundamental activities of social life, the shamans were the repositories and the transmitters of tribal lore and of origin myths and were the connecting link between the Terena and the supernatural world in which everyone believed. Above all, they were instrumental in bringing the people together at the time of the annual *ohéo'koti* during which both the living and the ghosts of the dead participated in observing the power of the shamans to control the world.

PRESENT-DAY RELIGION

Although the Terena have been in contact with a Christian community for over a century and Protestant missionaries have been active in Bananal for about 35 years, shamanism is by no means dead. At Bananal there are, today, six shamans—four men and two women. The four men (Eperú, José, Sabino, and Brigido) were consulted. Eperú for instance, explained that he learned his shamanism from his father who was also a shaman. He said that although he does not have the power to perform miracles, such as making a "bicho" (a little animal) come out of his mouth, he has spirits with whom he can get into contact. These spirits are the ghosts of dead shamans. He calls the spirits at night when he wants them to help him.

[P.45-A]

Shamanism is still an important part of Terena belief. The Terena still speak with awe of their famous shamans who, in the past, performed great miracles. In a sense, these old shamans have become legendary culture heroes, symbols of Terena unity and past greatness. Although they admit that present-day shamans do not have as much power as the shamans of old, they believe that the shamans of today can cure sickness and can demonstrate their powers. Many Terena, although members of either the Catholic or Protestant church, attend shamanistic performances. An interesting feature of present shamanism and one which shows Christian influence is the fact that some of the shamans attach a cross to the handle of the *kí'pahé*. In addition, the *ohéo'koti* is given on the 19th of April, the internationally recognized "Indian Day." Thus while Terena shamanism may have lost much of its meaning in competition with Christianity and white man's medicines and technology, shamanism is, along with the Terena language, a strong link with the past, an element which is still specifically Terena and one which gives the Terena a feeling of social and cultural unity.

Although the Terena have no clear record of missionary activity among the tribe from the date of their arrival in Brazil until about 1910, personal histories show that many old Terena were baptized and considered themselves Christians. We know that before the establishment of the Post, the Terena worked on the fazendas and that the Catholic fathers wandered from farm to farm in their official capacity, baptizing, marrying, and holding religious services even as they do in Mato Grosso today. Terena farm laborers, therefore, came under the influence of the "padres" quite early and it is most likely that the priests visited Terena villages from their headquarters in Campo Grande, Miranda, and Aquidauana. Although no statistics exist, it is more than probable that most, if not all, of the Terena were nominally Christians by 1900.

In 1910 a number of English Protestant missionaries, belonging to the Inland South American Missionary Union, visited the Terena led by Henry Whittington, who, in 1913, returned to establish the first permanent mission at Bananal. Along with his missionary activities, Whittington began teaching the Terena children to read and write

Portuguese. He appears to have made a favorable impression, for the Terena speak about him even today. 797

When the "Serviço de Proteção aos Indios" established the Post at Bananal in 1916 it brought the Terena together and made Catholic missionary activity among them more effective. Around 1920 the English Protestants appear to have withdrawn their mission. By 1925 American Protestant missionaries, belonging to the South American Indian Mission, had established a mission and school at Bananal where a missionary, a teacher, and a nurse are still active. In 1930 an American branch of the Redemptorist Catholic mission was established at Aquidauana, from where the fathers make periodic visits to the Terena villages. [648]

In addition to the regular activities of the American Protestant and Catholic missionaries, the Brazilian nuns in Aquidauana organize saint's day celebrations among the Indians. A popular saint among the Terena is Saint Sebastian. Being a martyr he is represented bound to a tree with an arrow in his side. The arrow may have something to do with the selection of this saint to serve Indian needs. Among Brazilian Catholics, Saint Sebastian provides protection against hunger, sudden death, and pests. A month before Saint Sebastian's day the nuns prepare a banner mounted on a staff showing the figure of the saint. This banner is then presented to the village of Ipegue, near Bananal, where the Indians are predominantly Catholic. The Indians begin their procession from Ipegue and after visiting all the Terena villages they end up in Aquidauana on Saint Sebastian's day, where the final celebration takes place. 797 796 796 177

During the procession the bearer of the banner walks in front, followed by a man playing a violin, two drummers, and, behind these, the singers and the faithful. The procession stops in front of each house and the people sing. The banner bearer then asks shelter for Saint Sebastian. The owner offers shelter and gives alms to every member in the procession. Wherever the procession happens to stop for the night a dance takes place. Some of the money received is spent on food. During the night dancing is periodically interrupted by prayers to Saint Sebastian. The procession continues in this manner until it reaches Aquidauana, where more dancing and praying take place. 796 177

Although the Terena formerly paraded the banners of Saint John and Saint Anthony they have now restricted themselves to Saint Sebastian. The other saints' days, however, are holidays, during which the Terena play football and dance Brazilian dances. [796 197 [198] [520]]

The presence of both Catholic and Protestant missionary activity among the Terena has introduced competition and conflict into the religious picture. Besides competing for converts, the two creeds have led to many tensions among the Terena themselves. The football teams are organized on a religious basis; Catholics and Protestants compete for favors from the manager of the Post; the schools separate the children; the entertainment of Catholic and Protestant groups differs. [182 197 198 152 [526]]

In addition to this social division and tension, the codes of the two creeds have led to psychological disturbances. The insistence of the Protestants upon a strict code of behavior makes Protestantism a more difficult religion to practice than Catholicism. Local observers claim that the Terena professing Protestantism appear frustrated and unhappy and that they belong to the church through fear rather than through voluntary desire. The Catholic Terena are permitted to smoke, drink alcohol, and dance. The Protestants claim that these activities are sinful and that no sinner can enter the Kingdom of heaven. On the other hand, the Protestant mission provides advantages which the Catholics do not offer. Protestant missionaries give free medical assistance, provide free education in the Protestant school, and help the Indians in their economic and personal affairs.

Cases of transfer from one creed to another are common. A Catholic youth listening to his Protestant friends may suddenly become conscious of his sinfulness and will join the Protestant church in search of salvation. A Protestant Terena, on the other hand, who breaks the strict moral code imposed upon him will be punished by having the advantages which the mission provides taken away from him. This often results in his leaving the Protestant church, removing his children from the Protestant school, and joining the Catholic church. Adultery and drunkenness on the part of the Terena are the principal causes leading to the abandonment of the Protestant church. [771 795] [684] [689]

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

[Post Chaco Period]
[Chaco Period]

The social tensions arising out of the competitive nature of Catholic and Protestant missionary activity among the Terena is something which both Protestant and Catholic missionaries deplore and something which causes considerable anxiety to the officials of the Brazilian Indian Service. For some time there has been an understanding between Catholics, Protestants, and the Brazilian Government that when Protestants go into a new area first the Catholics should stay away from that area. Similarly when the Catholics have opened up a new region in the interior the Protestants should remain away. This rule, however, either was not in effect or was not adhered to in the case of the Terena. At present, of course, the rule would be difficult to enforce among the Terena because the two creeds are well entrenched among the people. The tension between the Protestant and Catholic sects, however, would decrease if the Catholic and Protestant missionaries ceased in their efforts to convert individuals from one creed to the other and accepted the "status quo."

Moreover, the presence of shamanism in the religious life of the Terena cannot be forgotten. As matters now stand there appears to be a threefold struggle for allegiance between Catholicism, Protestantism, and shamanism. Shamanism, as we saw, is no longer pure paganism, having adopted elements of Christianity. The outcome of these differences in belief will, it seems, depend on the nature of the future development of Terena social life. If left to themselves in a Catholic country the Terena may overcome these differences by eventually developing a type of Catholicism with a strong admixture of shamanism.

SECULAR ENTERTAINMENT

DANCES AND GAMES

The important dances of the Terena today are the *kóhi-shoti-kipahé* (called "bate-pay" by Brazilians) and the *ohéo'koti*. Although these dances now reveal Brazilian elements, the Terena consider them as Terena dances and distinguish them from ordinary Brazilian dances, horse races, foot races, and other forms of secular entertainment in which they participate on saints' days and public holidays.

While they lived in the Chaco, the Terena had many dances and games which they still remember,

[P.47-B]

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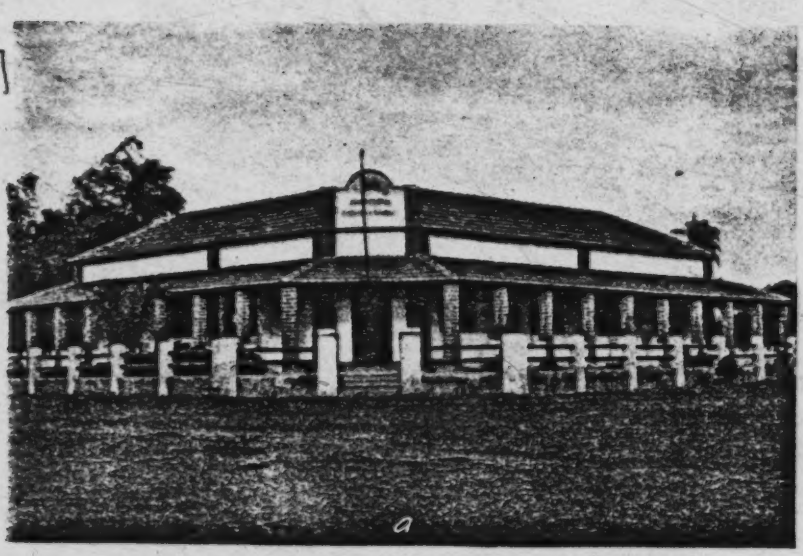

[997]

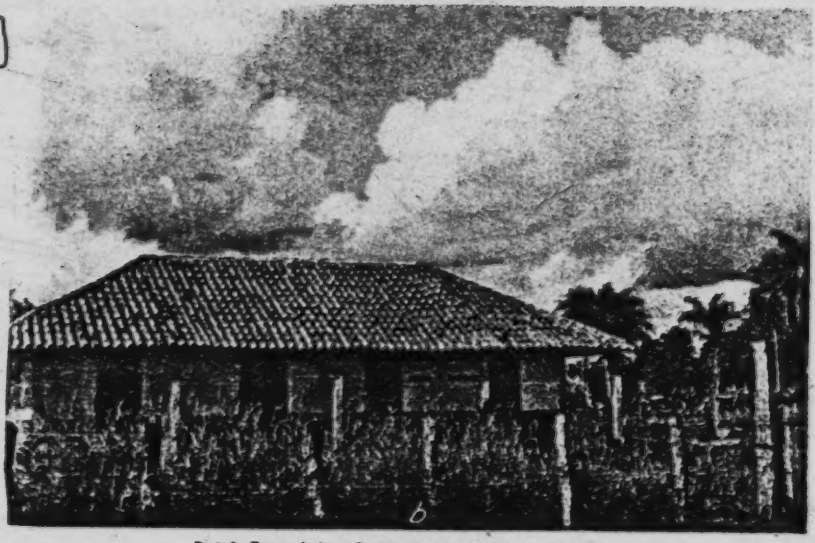

PLATE 3.—Terena schools. a, Government school. b, Protestant mission school.

[P. 75]

[End Plate 3]

/10 cont./

121 177 how and why, as in the case of the Terêna, they resist merging into the regional population.

121 Studies of groups in an advanced stage of integration are also recommended for the contribution they can make to the handling of problems involving the survival of tribal populations. [114] [122] For this very reason, the Secção de Estudos of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and the Museu de Índio operated by it, while we worked there with Eduardo Galvão and Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira, was devoted chiefly to this type of study. The present work is the fruit of this orientation and gives a measure of the contribution that ethnology can make in the formulation and execution of a scientifically oriented native policy that could open new and better living perspectives to the native populations of Brazil.

121 177 619 The theme of this study is an analysis of the explicative possibilities of this rare Brazilian instance of a tribe which traveled practically the full road of acculturation while retaining a considerable populational rise, reached a high degree of participation in regional life, but in spite of this remains differentiated, identifying itself and being identified as native.

121 177 101 The explicative value of the Terêna case is all the greater because the Terêna are divided into various subgroups that present several variants of the general conditions of interaction of tribal groups with the national society. While some of the subgroups enjoyed a certain state of isolation and relative autonomy, others were compelled to live next to tribes that spoke different languages and also had different cultures, or even impelled to settle for the condition of tenant farmers [648] [797] or colonos on private fazendas. Official aid on the part of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, as well as the activities of missionaries, Protestant and Catholic, also operated in different degrees of intensity and continuity and in various ways from group to group, giving rise to variants of great explicative 121 177 interest. Thus, their study showed in what way the various forces of compulsion that affected the process of the integration

/22 cont./

175 19th century. /23/ only Castelnau and Bach can be regarded as good sources of ethnographic data, and this limits to an extraordinary degree the possibilities of /achieving/ a historical reconstruction of the traditional culture on the basis of the bibliographic sources. (7)

7. In a previous work (1957:175-176) we dealt with the consistency of the primary 18th-century and 19th-century sources in so far as the recording of interethnic and intertribal contact situations is concerned, taking the Guaná as a whole; it now remained to give an idea of the content of the sources, in so far as their usefulness for the ethnological study of the Terêna properly speaking is concerned.

114 The ethnologically valuable bibliography in our century opens with Max Schmidt's study (1901) of a group of remaining Guaná close to the city of Cuiabá; a linguistic work, with a fine introduction on the history of those groups, with a good use [UAP] of the bibliography available at the time. There follow the reports of the Rondon Commission (from 1904 on) and of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios (from 1915 on), which are invaluable for an understanding of these Indians at the beginning of an entirely new situation characterized by the establishment [797] of a policy of protection. The second decade of this century is marked by the presence of the Protestant missionary, Alexander Rattray-Hay (1917-20) among the Terêna (of Bananal); his ethnological information--although not scientifically controlled--are of considerable help to us in understanding the native culture and the more immediate results of a religious proselytism in competition with the official protectionist policy.

/62 cont./

175 are very instructive, as are those between Aquidauana and the
172 Terêna communities of Limão Verde and Aldeinha. In the
[36] following chapters we shall see in more detail the influence of
[128] these cities[2] on the way of life of the members of those indigenous communities. For now, let us go on to analyze--on the basis of the chroniclers--the nature of the contacts that were established between these waves of penetration from our society and the regional Terêna population.

175 Strictly speaking, the first references we have on the
177 Terêna are provided by Sanches Labrador, who tells us that they
● 797 had already, at that time (mid-18th century), received in their aldeas a Jesuit padre. (109) Up to this time, they were the most isolated of the Guaná groups.

[162]

109. "In the Chanás settlement I found two men who were with their wives and children, all Terênas and brothers of the Chanás. I noted the language of their nation. I asked them if they knew of any Christians close to their lands, or if they had come to them? They answered yes ... and that in times past they had been close to their land: and pointing to the Guaranís who were present, they added: they were dressed like these, and with necklaces (rosaries) like those around the neck. This must have occurred when the Venerable Padre Castanhares with the Zamuco Indians came close to the settlement of the Terênas, or, as they call themselves, Telenoé." (1910, II:274-75.)

[101]

2 [i.e. the neo-Brazilian cities of Miranda and Aquidauana -- Analyst]

/62 cont./

175 177 797 131 [162] isolated of the Guaná groups. According to Azara--who got information on them in the same century--the Terêna were represented by two groups, one still living in the Chaco, near the Kinikináu, the other "east of the Paraguay River, below the 21° parallel, on a chain of small mountains that they called 'Echatiyá,' and east of another called 'Nogoná'." (110) Never-

110. 1809, II:87.

theless, we cannot know which of these groups had received the missionary or whether, at the time referred to by the Terêna informants (cf. note 109) all of them were still in the Chaco--which seems to be more probable. 175 177 797 Still in the 18th century--at its close--there is some information /63/ we owe to Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira according to which a Guaná aldea had been visited by a religious; (111) the local group referred to as having

111. Rodrigues Ferreira relates that Padre João Joseph Gomes da Costa, with an escort of 45 soldiers, "left on 13 February last (1791), and having traveled downriver for two and a half days, disembarked at a port on the east bank of the (Paraguay) river, where he mounted a horse and proceeded inland for about a quarter of a league, and there found the first quarters. From these he went eight leagues to the east, the second one, which was called "of the Guimarães." Five leagues further on in the same direction, he reached the third, which was of the Guaicurus." (Ms., sheets 3 and 4.)

/63 cont./

175 177 797 [184]

been visited could hardly have been Terêna, but was in all probability an "Echoaladi" or "Echoarana" subgroup. To judge by the 18th-century chronicles, the contact of the Terêna with Catholic missionaries was almost nil, and of very little consequence for the tribal culture, unlike other Guaná groups (like the Layâna and Exoaladi) quite frequently referred to by Labrador and Azara. But, even in the following century, the data left by the chroniclers regarding missionary work among the Terêna do not show that religious proselytism was intensified: referring generically to the Guaná in the middle of the century, Joaquim Alves Ferreira says that these Indians were "in the state of recovering from their intellectual and religious education" (112) and suggests that it would be very desirable--

112. 1905:83.

for a policy of national integration of these groups--"if missionaries were to go and reside among them"; (113) 20 years later,

113. 1905:92.

Visconde de Taunay, living among the Guaná Indians of the Miranda region, wrote that these Indians lived in the "greatest ignorance and indifference as far as religion is concerned." (114)

114. 1931:21; "The catechizing is still lagging and has been poorly directed. Few Kinikináus know the significance of the cross and only some Guanás recite our prayers." (Ibid.)

These depositions serve to show that if the other Guaná groups had not received effective catechizing, the Terêna--frequently

G B 175 648 B 657 G [341]

/67 cont./ taken from them. What is clear is that for a long time, even after the creation of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, the Terêna Reservations continued to be supervised by ex-members of the "Missão Rondon," who went on to integrate that service. While much land was lost, others were gained, such as the Buriti and Brejão aldeas, formed respectively in 1922 and 1904, and made into native reservations in 1928 and 1922.

If we analyze the situation in which the Guaná groups were, at the time /68/ of the passing through of the Rondon Commission--which corresponds to that cycle of colonization opened with the "settlement of the demobilized /soldiers/," we shall see how important the first measures taken by the commission and the later creation of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios proved to those Indians--specifically the Terêna, the only ones to benefit from the changes then begun. (128)

H 175 648 K 175 177

H [212] [392]

128. "The colonial native policy," in force until the end of the 19th century, was concerned with the pacification of the tribal groups of that area, their enlistment in the fights with the Spaniards, or even their neutralization. Such a policy was based on the establishment of forts (such as Coimbra, Miranda, and Albuquerque) and on the encouragement of missionary work among these indigenous groups, with the purpose of "improving their disposition /índole/." But in spite of all the interest in transforming the Indians also into producers of consumer

/63 cont./

neglected by the 18th- and 19th-century chroniclers--were much less likely to have undergone more efficient proselytism.

Taunay himself gives us a rather precious bit of information on the Terêna. He says, commenting on the role of the caciques in Guaná communities, that "the groups in the region are little bound to the chiefs, only the /64/ Terenas respect their leaders." (115) This statement tells us that among all the

115. 1931:46.

Guaná groups, it seems that only the Terêna retained their traditional culture more or less intact, especially their social structure. Hence the conclusion that the changes that occurred and that are still occurring in Terêna communities must be due to the continuous and systematic contact with the regional population--which after the Paraguayan war tended to increase, as we have seen, owing to demobilization--rather than to the agencies for religious proselytism, consciously oriented toward a transformation of the tribal way of life. It seems that the missionary influence on Terêna culture is a more recent phenomenon, as we shall attempt to show in Chapter VI. (116)

116. "For Guaná culture, naturally," writes Max Schmidt, "the long contact maintained (from the mid-18th century) with Jesuit missions, according to Camaño, must have had a great influence. Despite the fact that the Jesuits, at first, had contact only with the western Guaná groups, those called Chaná, certainly their influences extended to

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the other groups, leading to the loss of much of the traditional culture. After a long interruption of these relations, at the time of the incursions of men of São Paulo /Paulistas/, in the year 1761, the padre, José Sanches Labrador newly visited, for the first time, the Guaná, more precisely the Chaná. With the padre, Don Manuel Duran, an attempt was made to create a lasting mission among the Guaná, who always showed good receptivity. These attempts, however, proved fruitless owing to the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767. Two years later, a new attempt was made to carry forward missionary work, by Franciscan monks; the lack of means, however, led them to desist in 1772." (1903: 326-327.) This shows that missionary activity itself never had the continuity necessary to lead to a significant change among the Terêna groups, in view of the fact that the other Guaná groups, despite the more intensive contact they

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had, did not come to present radical change during the first three centuries.

175 Suffice it to conclude, for now, that that influence was felt
177 much more through the other Guaná subgroups--such as the
797 Layâna and the Exoaladi--, filtered through these, than
184 through direct contact of the missionaries with Terêna com-
[10] munities: chroniclers give an exhaustive account of the intensity of the contact of those two subgroups not only with missionaries but, especially, with the regional population which did not always distinguish between them but frequently identified them by the generic name "Guanás." (117)

117. The only reference we know on missionary work in relation to another Guaná group is Taunay's (1863-64) on the Kinikináu: "The model aldea on the Lower Paraguay was unquestionably that of Matto Grande or Bom Sucesso, near Albuquerque, where the Kinikináus, under the paternal and intelligent direction of the most righteous missionary, Frei Mariano de Bagnania, displayed the precious fruits of inspired catechizing." (1931:19-21.)

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/65/ This neo-Brazilian population, although still very scarce before the war with Paraguay, already maintained relations of an economic order with the Guaná--and rather important ones, to judge by the information left us by Elliot, Leverger, and Alves Ferreira.

/68 cont./

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gifts, which they are still receiving. Yet there was no lack of plans, regulations, and repeated orders, most of them unsuccessful, whereas the Spanish Jesuits, without any abstract ideas, without elaborating handsome theories, catechized all the nations they sought out...." (Pimenta Bueno, 1840:170.) The government tried to leave to the religious the job of assistance which it hoped would be carried out in terms of catechization.

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At the beginning of the century, the indigenous population was scattered through the fazendas of the region and its depopulated aldeas were compressed by them. Merely in that area of densest Terêna population, between Aquidauna and Miranda, the report of the commission informs us that "the line in that space crossed through the campos of four Fazendas which own about 6,000 head of cattle. Around these, others are clustered, with three times as many livestock, the principal one being the Cutape ranch, belonging to Colonel Estevão Alves Corrêa, with about 10,000 beeves. The camaradas /farm hands/ on these fazendas are for the most part Terêna Indians...." (129)

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129. 1949:82. The report defines the Terêna's working qualities as follows: "They cultivate manioc from which they make flour, bananas, sweet potatoes, sugar cane, and cotton, with which they

G /69 cont./
B And while many of these things /70/ still occur today, keep-
466 ing the Terêna under a regime of exploitation, it cannot be
178 said that there has not been a marked change since the time
B when the native laborer became the object of special attention
657 on the part of the government, shown in the creation of the S.P.I. From then to now, exploitation has become more subtle, less brutal, but nevertheless effective. And it can be said that as the structure of a "feudal" nature that ruled up to that time in southern Mato Grosso breaks down, thanks to the penetration of the NOB, the native population, along with the neo-Brazilians subjected to the same exploitation, keep benefiting by this. (132)

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132. In the last pages of his thesis, Fernando Altenfelder gives a very good summary of the history of the Terêna, with the aim of giving an idea of the process of cultural change undergone by the Bananal community. The role of the "Inland South America Missionary Union," pointed out by Altenfelder as a basic element in the most recent changes undergone by those Indians, cannot, nevertheless, be generalized to apply to the other communities, in view of the fact that in many of them no Protestant missionaries ever managed to settle.

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[184]

/75 cont./ [Cachoeirinha]

361 post, that of the school, and that of the church. (138) It is
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[368]

138. The only church in Cachoeirinha is Catholic; two North American padres of the Order of Redemptorists are located in Miranda and Aquidauna from where they go through the Terêna aldeas. The community is characterized by its resistance to the entry of Protestant missionaries, and its members are called Catholics, but by self-definition. There are only two Protestant families, both of whom came from Bananal.

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361 made up of 53 ranchos and, at the time when we were there,
621 we counted 309 persons in this area alone. Nevertheless, it
[524] might be said that this nucleus is divided into two "bairros /barrios/," Cachoeirinha proper and Cruzeiro, at present very little differentiated, but which in times past were to some ex-
[363] tent rival groups with their own futebol teams. It should be added that these 53 ranchos are distributed in squares duly divided into streets, with leafy mango trees and rich vegetation, where quite wide and grassy streets stand out.

Argola is the name given to a former aldeamento which, as its name /"ring"/ indicates, follows a circular arrangement of its houses, probably as a survival from the traditional Terêna aldeamentos. Today, this name is used to designate 23 ranchos and their respective /76/ land plots, located in the same place as the original Argola and, for this reason, keeping the same name.

Passarinho, Moreira, and União

/78 cont./ being a federal deputy and "bolicheiro," he had obtained the post of "delegado de quarteirão" of the município of Miranda; it is said of him that it was common to find in his "bolicho" firearms taken at night from ill-advised people who went up the road with weapons; and as delegado, he did not hesitate to arrest and order a beating for those Indians who for one reason or another had a disagreement with him.

This road connects Passarinho with Moreira, the latter being quite close to the União local group--which results in rather intensive contact between these three aldeas.

União is a special case. It originated in 1946, as the result of a disagreement in Bananal aldea, (143) which led to

143. For details on the matter, see pp. 121-122.

the departure of the two principal Protestant leaders of the community, who, with their families, went on to occupy a 73-hectare lot which they had acquired. The son of the principal leader, Patrício Lily or Wollily--the present leader of the small União community--, told us that on November 20 /79/ of that year, the families settled on those lands and there founded, months later, in 1947, the "Escola Evangélica União." In 1948, the informant went to study at the "Instituto Bíblico Eduardo Lany" in Minas Gerais, where he remained for four years, three of them in the regular course to become an evangelist and one year devoted to a rural-teacher course.

[Bananal and Ipegue]

/84 cont./ as well as 84 Terêna dwellings. Aside from this central nucleus, we find--as in other Terêna aldeas--areas especially devoted to farm plots and others comprising winter pastures for cattle; in both areas, there are ranchos where a significant part of the community lives. The history of Bananal is very important to an understanding of those migration movements we are studying in this chapter. For this reason, we refer the reader to the already mentioned research of Fernando Altenfelder da Silva, devoted to the study of the cultural change of the Terêna, on the basis of data obtained in Bananal. We shall quote the following passage from this author on the history of the community: "The present aldea of Bananal, which numbers more than 900 Indians (this in 1946--RCO), originated at the beginning of this century, in an area close to that of the old aldeas of Naxe-Daxe and Ipegue. Owing to the persecutions stirred up by the local fazendeiros, very few Indian families remained in this area. . . . In 1906 the Brazilian, João Gomes, who lived with a Terêna woman, "named" the Indian, Manoel Pedro, captain of Bananal aldea. In 1908, Manoel Pedro and some Indians, among them Marcolino Wollily (who later succeeded him), began the demarcation of the aldea lands, probably directed by General Rondon, who had been there making a survey of the area. In 1915 Marcolino Wollily was appointed by the S.P.I. to the post of captain of the aldea and distinguished himself in the defense of Terêna interests against the constant demands of neighboring fazendeiros. Converted to Protestantism, Marcolino caused part of the aldea to be converted as well." (147)

147. 1949:285.

The importance of the Marcolino "affair" is evident. After reading Altenfelder and living, as we did, for some time in the aldeas that maintain the greatest contact with Bananal, we felt at once the impact there of the Marcolino matter and his politico-religious activities.

[Bananal and Ipegue]

/84 cont./ his politico-religious activities. In this /85/ respect, it is fitting to give some idea of the history of the problem. To this end, nothing could be more suitable than to resort once more to Altenfelder: "On a charge that they had instigated the Indians against the authorities of the S. P. I. the missionaries of the Inland South America Missionary Union were, in 1920, expelled from Bananal. In 1925, resuming the activities of this organization, North American missionaries of the South America Indian Mission settled in Bananal and have since continued to catechize the Terêna. In 1933 Marcolino Wollily was arrested and stripped of his post as captain of the aldea, on the charge of fomenting a rebellion against the S. P. I. A triumvirate system was tried, in which the three mainstreams of the aldea were represented: the Protestants, non-Protestants (or Catholics), and the S. P. I. But the system was not successful, and a year later Marcolino was reinstated as chief of the Indians." (148) And this situation lasted up to 1946, as we

148. Ibid.

have seen, when that leader, due to new frictions that arose between him and the post, withdrew to the place that later was to become União.

The consequences of the Protestant penetration--while explicable on an ecological basis--were to be felt not only in the move of large numbers of non-Protestant Indians to Ipegue, but also in the isolation of the families regarded as Catholic in specific areas, such as the place called Morrinho, where three non-Protestant extended families live in half a score of ranchos; in the central nucleus of the aldea, made up for the most part of Protestant families, we found these concentrated along the main streets.

Concerning Ipegue there is not much to be said. Ever since Bananal came into existence, Ipegue remained more or less as its satellite. The progress of Bananal, that is, its

/87 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

162 Among all the Terêna communities, it seems that Limão
621 Verde is the one with the most diversified ethnic composition. Probably even more so than Lalima. In the Limão Verde nucleus alone there are 10 neo-Brazilian families and two Paraguayan ones, aside from many mestizos of Terêna origin. In Córrego Sêco, however, there are only Terêna families, undoubtedly
621 owing to its more isolated geographic position. As in Bananal,
798 there are in Limão Verde serious conflicts of politico-religious
797 origin. In the community (as in the other Terêna aldeas), North American Redemptorist padres work hard at the religious proselytism of their members. Also Protestants, of the same Bananal group, endeavor to convert Indians, Paraguayans, and neo-Brazilians to their creed. The result of this has been the division of the small Limão Verde nucleus into Catholics and Protestants and the identification of Córrego Sêco as a Catholic nucleus (in the same way as Ipegue).

162 Going from Aquidauana to Limão Verde, one passes
361 through three population nuclei: in the first place, Morrinho,
368 where we found several /88/ bolichos, among which that of the
871 "Paraguayan" was the biggest and the best supplied; in this nucleus we did not find Indians and it would be more fitting to describe it as a neo-Brazilian settlement, with a rural school and Catholic church; in the second place, one passes through Limão Verde proper, where we found two churches, one Catholic and the other Protestant; both serve also as schools, with a school of the municipality operating in the first and one of the
[875] Protestant mission itself in the second; in both, the teaching body is made up exclusively of Indians and mestizos (it should be emphasized that the município teacher is Pascoal Dias, nephew of old Daniel); finally, one reaches Córrego Sêco, whose children--in truth very few--attend the Limão Verde schools.

439 Limão Verde, comprising both nuclei, prefers to sell its products to Aquidauana, where they fetch better prices, although it also maintains trade relations with the neo-Brazilian

/88 cont./ [Limão Verde - and Aldeinha]

439 settlement of Morrinho. Its principal products suitable for export are manioc flour, bananas, sugar-cane juice, and unre-
464 fined sugar in small bricks /rapadura/. The members of the
648 community work on the closer fazendas and in Aquidauana, and
177 many Terêna girls work as domestics in Aquidauana. And,
197 in spite of the wide contact that the community maintains with foci of culture change, such as Aquidauana, the most widely spoken language is the Terêna tongue, familiar even to the non-native members of the community. We would venture to say that this is a case of "Terenization" of the neo-Brazilian and Paraguayan population, whereas in Lalima--another multi-ethnic community--there was a gradual disappearance of the tribal languages, with the imposition of Portuguese as the most widely spoken language.

162 In the city of Aquidauana, in the suburban zone, there
361 live 39 families of Terêna Indians and mestizos that make up a population of slightly less than 250 individuals. Living two kilometers from the left bank of the Aquidauana River, on lands they acquired themselves, these Terêna are regarded as people of Aldeinha.

175 In 1933, three brothers, Gregório (Neco), Sebastião,
621 and José, passing through Aquidauana after leaving Buriti on their way to Bananal, decided to buy some lands at the in-sistence of a sister--already settled in Aquidauana--who wanted
[423] them near her, in the same city. With the sale of a few cattle and horses, they bought about 40 hectares for "1,800,000 reis."
[622] Old Neco, /two plates appear here/ /89/ to all extents and
[166] purposes the head of the community, says that immediately after settling down in that place, "compatriots" began to pour
175 in asking permission to live on those lands. Every night they
621 would station themselves at the entrance, singing religious
● 797 hymns. This activity made the little aldea that was forming
[533] become known as the Aldeinha /little aldea/ of the "Believers."
[798] Whether the persons who went to live there were already Protestants, or became "Believers" through the catechization

[Text continues on p.127]

/89 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

175 621 797 795 of the family of the leader, Neco, is a question we cannot discuss for lack of data. We can say, however, that the two hypotheses are not mutually exclusive and that, in all probability, both "Believers" and "non-Believers" were drawn to the new community, and that, among the latter, the majority must ultimately have been drawn by the Protestant cults and the power of persuasion of their leaders. As a result, among the 39 families mentioned, only 13 are not Protestant. It [622] must be mentioned that two of the community leaders already had experience of religious proselytism. Old Neco, for example, had collaborated in the evangelization of the Terêna of Buriti, in the place called "Agua Azul," a community regarded today as Protestant.

162 621 [144] With reference to the ethnic composition, it can be said that the Terêna, although they are not properly speaking a minority, are outnumbered by the mestizo group, that is, by those individuals whose fathers or mothers are not "pure" Terêna. Of 211 persons listed in the census, 123 are mestizos (the fruits of interethnic or intertribal unions), 78 are "pure" Terêna (children of Terêna fathers and mothers), 3 are "Purutuya"-white, 5 are "Purutuya"-Negro, and only one is 101 829 Kinikinâu (one not being included). It should be explained here that "Purutuya" is the designation in the Terêna language for the "civilizado," whether white or black, despite the fact that this term is a neologism applied initially to the Portuguese.

464 648 [241] [462] It can be said that Aldeinha lives on employment in the city of Aquidauana. Over half its inhabitants work in the city, that is, hold jobs of an urban nature, while the other part is divided in doing farm work on neighboring fazendas and small farms, or on their own farm plots. Like Limão Verde and, naturally, on a much wider scale, Aldeinha serves as a domestic workers' pool: nearly all the young girls in the community have already been employed in the homes /90/ of the city and they are constantly sought out in the aldea itself with offers of employment.

[Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

/90 cont./

346 As in the other communities with a large Protestant
[162] contingent, Aldeinha has its church, relatively large and built
of bricks. It is the best building in the aldea, not to say the
[485] only one; there is only one other house behind the church,
342 which serves to put up guests. The dwelling houses or ranchos
are in the style typical of nearly all Terêna aldeas: "pau-a-
368 pique" and "taipa" /i.e. with mud walls/. There is no school,
875 although the church building has already been used for this
628 purpose. It is interesting that, in spite of the fact that the
community supports a teacher in the place called "Água
Branca," in Brejão aldea (Capitão Vitorino), it complains
[797] about not having one to teach its own children.... This is what
might be called catechizing strategy: since in "Água Branca"
(and in Brejão as a whole) there are no "Believers," the leaders
of Aldeinha probably hope to catechize through the teacher
872 their "compatriots" in Brejão. The Aldeinha children attend
648 the município schools of Aquidauana, although they would
prefer to go to school in their own community, not only be-
cause of the distance, but also the difficulty they have in buy-
ing uniforms and shoes; cases of absenteeism from class owing
to lack of clothing are countless, as we were able to verify
197 in the course of our visits to the community. As for language,
178 it can be said that Aldeinha follows the example of the Terêna
communities that underwent a greater degree of the process
of social change, this being reflected in the gradual loss of
the tribal language, through the generations.

Brejão or Capitão Vitorino

361 Brejão or Captain Vitorino's aldea, as it is known, occu-
621 pies an area of 3,904 hectares, duly demarcated and with a
[133] deed /titulo/ for 2,800 hectares. The native reservation is
located in Nioac Município, with the Urumbeva River to the
north and the Maracaju range to the east. A document of the

/91 cont./ [Brejão or Capitão Vitorino]

872 628 346 825 they erected a spacious shed and left there a teacher, at a salary of 3,000 cruzeiros a month, recruited from the Aldeinha Sunday services!

162 621 /92/ As for the ethnic composition of the community, it can be said that there are two mestizo families (Terêna--neo-Brazilian), one Guaikurú descendant married to a Kinikináu survivor, one Negro woman married to a Terêna woman.

648 Between the reservation and Nioac there is a "colônia," Monte Alto, made up to a large extent of Paraguayan elements. It has a rural school, with four teachers, as well as a "bolicho." [439] The school is attended only by children from the "colônia," but the "bolicho" is frequented by Indians, neo-Brazilians, 439 and Paraguayans. Thus, Monte Alto and Nioac maintain close contact and intensive trade relations with the native community. The Indians sell, chiefly to Nioac, maize, manioc flour, tapioca, gourds, watermelons, squash /Cucurbita maxima/, and sometimes unrefined sugar (the latter, according to the statement of one Terêna informant, "is not worth selling, it 241 pays so little"). Aside from these products, the community plants for its own consumption the following species: rice, /sweet/ potatoes, beans /feijão miúdo/, cane, and earthnuts.

● 797 And as in so many Terêna aldeas, religious proselytism is in the hands of Redemptorist padres, whose headquarters are in Aquidauana, and who come once a month to the community [341] to say Mass and teach the catechism; but it must be said that on the reservation there is no building that might be called a church: the padres' activities are carried out in the private homes of the few inhabitants who call themselves Catholics. As for Protestants, we found that in spite of the two attempts to this effect on the part of the Bananal Evangelical Mission, 177 there are no "Believers" in Brejão. Thus, the agents of culture change in the community are limited to the post, practically

[Buriti]

/94 cont./

16 621 which shows that a much larger number of individuals would have been needed to occupy such a large number of dwellings, and that in 1937 many of those huts must have been unoccupied.

16 621 as can be seen from the 1946 census, according to which there were in Buriti 476 individuals, whereas in 1954 another census listed 483 inhabitants in the aldea.

361 621 [368] The aldea of Buriti is made up of three population nuclei which appear as three distinct neighborhood units: a) Buriti proper, where the native post, the captain's house, the post school, and the Catholic church are found, along with half a score of ranchos; b) Córrego do Meio, southeast of the central nucleus, with a population distributed in ranchos situated in an [795] area of farm plots and winter pastures for cattle; c) Água Azul, [797] a newer nucleus, whose members are mostly "Believers" and are situated well to the south of the Buriti nucleus, next to the boundary of the reservation (the fazendeiro next to the aldea donated to a Protestant mission a plot of land right on the boundary with Água Azul, where the missionaries built a church and a school specially for the Indians of the reservation). The [184] result of this was the repetition in Buriti of the same processes of division of the native community that took place in Bananal, Passarinho-Moreira, Limão Verde, and, as we shall see below, Francisco Horta.

872 /95/ Thus, there are two schools in the community: one operated by the post, secular, although regarded by the Indians as of Catholic orientation; another, operated by the Evangelical [875] mission, next to Água Azul. There was a time when, owing [622] to the lack of a teacher in the official school, the captain of Água Azul, the Protestant leader, Benedito Reginaldo, was

[Buriti]

/95 cont./

872 invited to teach; but this was unsuccessful: the "teacher" had
875 the pupils sing religious hymns, incurring sharp criticism from
the post superintendent, who could not permit the S. P. I.
school to have a religious content, whether Catholic or
177 Protestant. Aside from these foci of culture change, that is, the
schools, the post itself, the mission, and the Catholic padres
who occasionally visit Buriti, we have the neighboring fazendas
464 and the "bolichos." As for the fazendas, it should be noted
648 that when we passed through Água Azul we did not find a single
adult male in the community; they were all working on the
fazendas and were to return to the aldea only at the end of the
366 day. And concerning the "bolichos," we found four of them
491 at the head of four of the roads that connect the reservation
● 797 with the outside; on the fifth road, the Evangelical mission
already referred to was situated. Thus, of the five means of
access to the native community, four are controlled by "bolichos"
and one by missionaries.

648 But the relations of the aldea are not limited to the
"bolichos" and to the mission referred to. Four leagues from
Buriti there is the town of Sidrolândia, with a few business
houses, a pharmacy, the prefecture, and a modest boarding
house. Between Sidrolândia and Buriti, one league from the
latter, there is a small settlement of neo-Brazilians called
Barro Prêto /"black clay"/, probably because of the great
dampness of its soil, which is quite dark and good for farming.
[439] The Indians of the community maintain regular contacts with
Barro Prêto and with Sidrolândia, only not trading with them
because of the insufficient production of goods on the reserva-
[252] tion. It should be borne in mind that the chief product in
Buriti is manioc flour, which nevertheless is not put out in
quantities larger than necessary for internal consumption.
464 Buriti is one of the communities most dependent on the regional
648 labor market; the large numbers of cattle in the aldea do not
[233] belong to the Indians but to the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios,
which naturally does not require more than five peons to care

/96 cont./ [Francisco Horta]

Among the agents of culture change of the Terêna and Kaiwá communities, we note the Francisco Horta Native Post, built in 1924-25, along with its school, whose teacher is now a woman missionary from the neighboring "Missão Evangélica Caiuá"; the Protestant mission itself, with its well-equipped infirmary, nursery for orphan children, church, and school, all of these annexes being situated on a land plot next to the entrance of the reservation; several "bolichos" situated on the chief ways of access to the aldea; the fazendas of the region, characterized by the maté industry, with Paraguayans and Kaiwá Indians from Francisco Horta /97/ working on its extraction; and naturally, the city of Dourados, which is only five kilometers away.

As a result of the persistent work of the missionaries, nearly all of the Terêna community call themselves Protestants. On the other hand, the infrequent visits of the Catholic padres of Dourados to the reservation are not sufficient to attract the Kaiwá, whose religious vitality, so well analyzed by Schaden (155)

155. Cf. Egon Schaden, 1954:159-170.

keeps them attached to their own traditions. And as a result of the Protestant proselytism, one notes in Francisco Horta--as in the other indigenous communities where "Believers" have settled--a certain social tension, manifested in the discrimination of non-Protestant individuals toward those who call themselves "Believers," whether Terêna or Kaiwá Indians. From what we were able to ascertain during our stay at the mission--where we were for five days--, the religious bonds were stronger among the Terêna and Kaiwá than the tribal bonds; that is, all of the "Believers," without consideration of tribal or ethnic origin, were united against those who did not profess the same creed.

/104 cont./

184 include any native families
233 that own reasonable numbers
511 of beeves sufficient to give them relative economic independence, like those of Lalima and Brejão.

184 Cachoeirinha it was still possible to find, up to a short time
233 ago, one or two families that subsisted exclusively on their
511 herds of cattle; however, the shortage of water and the increasing impoverishment of the pastures made it impossible for those families to remain in the aldea and to go on tending
[166] their herds. One family from Bananal and one from
[44] Cachoeirinha finally left the aldea, the former selling its herd
[427] and going to live in Campo Grande, as the owner of a trading establishment, and the latter renting fields from neighboring
182 fazendeiros and fattening its cows on them. These two aldeas,
241 like the others not possessers of good pasture grounds, and,
511 especially, of an abundance of water, are characterized by their agricultural activities and make it possible for a few families to obtain all their means of subsistence from fields of rice, maize, cane, manioc, and beans, to list only the chief species cultivated.

184 The most significant differences between Terêna com-
571 munities must be sought, nevertheless, on the associative plane,
177 since that is what reflects the most violent--and relatively recent--impact on these Indians of the regional society.

797 We refer in particular to the activities of the Protestant
798 religious missions. These, as a new institution--since they came to operate in a region traditionally covered by Catholic missionaries--entered in the Terêna villages into a highly competitive situation, insofar as their objective was to convert those Indians who called themselves Catholics, more by force of habit than properly speaking by /line missing here/, more intensive and efficient than the Catholic, the Protestant

/104 cont./

797 missionaries managed to organize groups of Indians who were
798 relatively imbued with the doctrine and practice of the gospel, through whom they went on to convert, in certain aldeas, a considerable number of individuals, to the point of creating a certain hostility between the Protestant converts and the
621 non-Protestants or Catholics. (163) Typical, in this respect,
798

163. Consult Rattray-Hay, op. cit.

is the aldea of Bananal, followed closely by Limão Verde, Buriti, and Moreira-Passarinho. In these aldeas, it can be said that there occurred a division of the respective communities into /two plates appear here/ /105/ two groups: "Catholic" and "Protestant." We use these terms in quotation marks, because the mechanism that grants access to each of
177 these groups is probably as much political as religious. It
797 should be made clear, however, that other agents of culture change, such as the native post and the school it controls, are not being overlooked as active elements in the process of conversion, whether in a positive or negative way. There is no question that these agencies represent, alongside the missions, an unique and special instrument of change. Only by an attempt at abstracting on the part of the researcher, by identifying each of these agencies as variables of the same complex, does it become possible to differentiate the elements that make up this instrument. Thus, it might be said with Mayer Fortes that "the conversion of an individual or group frequently represents the culmination of a process brought about in the total complex by contact influences, of which the mission is only a single component." (164)

164. 1938:67.

[text continues on p.152]

/105 cont./

797 But what we are dealing with here, at the moment, is
648 the result of the missions' activities, which is not always con-
578 sistent with their expectations of conversion. In this sense,
795 what seems to exist is opposition among the other agencies, at least insofar as Protestant conversions are concerned. In the majority of cases, or of aldeas, there is a certain incompatibility between officials of the S. P. I. (post and school) and Evangelical missionaries; this is not the case with the Redemptorist padres, who, while they are not encouraged to proselytism, at least do not meet with obstacles. This discrimination against Protestant missions seems to be due to two basic reasons: first, the fact that they are struggling against a religious ideology that is already rooted in the neo-Brazilian and native population, a mixture of Catholicism, spiritualism, and tribal beliefs and practices; second, the greater activity of the Protestant missionaries, their greater aggressiveness on the reservations, to the point where they use loudspeakers to propagate the gospel (with music and speeches); all of this combined with a rather efficient organization that leads the "Believers" to a more intensive group life by means of the various meetings of worship carried out through the weeks and of the preparation of Indians for the performance of proselytizing functions. It is not difficult to imagine how /106/ inconvenient this is for the post superintendent: aside from the "disturbance" of aldea routine, the "Believers" represent the "revolutionary" element in the community, not so much because they are the most demanding, but chiefly because of their greater organization, which permits an intensive and continuous control of post activities.

This situation of tension created between the Evangelical missionaries and the S. P. I. officials naturally does not fail to be reflected in the manner of conversion. In other words, the individuals who pass from the "Catholic" to the "Protestant" group, or vice versa, are usually led by a multiplicity of reasons, of which only one might have a religious content.

/106 cont./

797 We were able to record many cases of individuals (or even
648 entire families) who adopted the other religion because of
578 matters of dissension in the community, because their ad-
795 versaries were leaders or enjoyed high "status" in the group to which they belonged and which they left in retaliation. Even more usual was the channeling to the "Protestant" group of those dissatisfied with the post administration. But it must be emphasized that these individuals did not on this account necessarily remain in the new politico-religious group adopted, since at the first opportunity they changed categories once more, passing with relative ease from one group to another, in accordance with the political situation of the moment.

797 There are other cases, less frequent however, in which the
795 motive for the change of "religious ideology" was much more
273 prosaic, such as the simple wish to drink rum: the express prohibition to Protestants against alcoholic beverages gave rise to situations in which a Protestant convert (not yet fully integrated into his new faith) ceased to be one when the desire to drink came upon him; then we would get the curious fact of individuals who remained for one year in one religious group (in this case the Protestant group) and spent a few months in the other group, as long as their desire to drink lasted!

621 In short, in the four aldeas mentioned, in which Protestant
798 missionaries managed to introduce the "new faith," the result
665 was the division of the community into two politically distinct
[648] groups. And in two of them, at least, this division was aggravated by the activity of the post superintendents, who took the side of one of the groups (usually the "Catholics"), making
[797] even more difficult their mutual reconciliation. This party character, /107/ preponderant in the recruitment of individuals into either of the groups, shows the shallow religious content of both. (165)

795
771 165. Altenfelder da Silva, in his work on Bananal, refers

3:O liveira--155 E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

/107 cont./ Excluding
771 their shamanistic rituals--now reduced to a mere technique for
[765] fighting sicknesses--, the poverty of the ceremonial and of
[797] the beliefs in an extraterrestrial world is flagrant. It is true
[171] that the Terêna have had more than a century of systematic contact with Catholic missions, but it is also true that the Guarani have had more, and nevertheless have shown a much greater
771 religious vitality. Unfortunately we do not have data that
171 would permit us to compare the religious activities, Protestant or Catholic, exercised among the Guarani groups, with those exercised among the Terêna. But, to judge by the works of Curt Nimuendaju and Ego Schaden, Guarani culture is indeed characterized by the importance that the religious system holds within it and by the high mysticism of its members. Which
771 precisely is not the case among the Terêna. Among these,
797 the Christian faiths penetrated but in a much more formal
177 way--by means of their ceremonials--than as new means for explaining the world. In this sense, the Terêna showed much realism, to the point of not substituting Christian cosmogony for their traditional system of beliefs when the latter broke down. The impression gained, after living with them several months, is that they care little about the supernatural, actually to a much lesser extent than the inlander of the region.
[795] /108/ With the possible exception of a few individuals, "Be-
[571] lievers," to the majority the new faiths were only a cloak, something external to individual conscience, valid as a source of "status" and of parts that help in the adjustment of individuals to the new situations created by the changing communities. (168)

798
829

168. Each of the groups has its stereotype: the "Catholic" is regarded as a vagrant, great drunkard, and merrymaker; the "Protestant," as pious, hard-working, and honest. This is what the "Believer"

/108 cont./

798 829 [273] thinks of himself and of the "Catholics." Now the "Catholic," while he does not deny that a large number of his coreligionists drink a lot, believes that they work much harder than the "Believers," since the latter "are always at meetings of worship and just ask for alms and do [212] not take life seriously." It seems that the basic difference between them is that most of the "Believers" know how to read and write--because they are encouraged to do so in order to be able to study the Bible, whereas the "Catholics" [292] have no such incentive. This difference is apparent in the religious intervention itself: the Protestant missionaries are much more concerned with literacy than the Redemptorist padres.

771 128 Much could be said on the religious behavior of the Terêna and on the syncretism revealed by their present body of beliefs. Nevertheless, it is not advisable for us to enlarge upon this, since the data we possess on the aldeas in this respect are very unequal, not permitting a comparative analysis. The disparity between the material obtained in Cachoeirinha--to mention the community selected for a study in depth and that will be the subject of a special work--in comparison with the data recorded in the other aldeas, would make any such endeavor a futile one.

/108 cont./

000 endeavor a futile one. It is sufficient for us to bear in mind
797 that, since the Christian religious complexes did not penetrate
177 deeply into Terêna culture, the behavior of these Indians has
182 not been very much affected, unless we regard as important the acceptance on the part of the "Believers" of certain rules of comportment, such as not drinking, not smoking, and not dancing, which are not difficult to find among the "Catholics" themselves, or those without religion. Hence, we do not find two really distinct /patterns of/ behavior created by the
795 activities of the different missions. Those of both, to a greater
771 or lesser extent, attend the shamanistic practices and appear
796 at the religious and secular festivities that mark the life of the community. On the days of St. John, St. Sebastian, St. Anthony, and St. Benedict, the entire population participates in the secular part of the commemorations; the same may be said of "Oheokoti" and Holy Week, nowadays merged into a single body of ceremonies, in which are evident on the same plane Christian and pagan elements and secular practices.

184 /109/ On the basis of the complex politico-religious
621 situation generated by the diversity of motivations which
797 operated in the conversion of the Terêna, we can classify their
795 aldeas into three groups: a) Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Brejão, as aldeas where Evangelical proselytism was not very successful, their inhabitants continuing to consider themselves
[665] "Catholics"; (169) b) Bananal, Limão Verde, Buriti, and

169. In these villages as in the others--with the exception of União, Aldeinha, and Francisco Horta--the Terêna are visited by the North American Catholic padres of the Redemptorist Order who have their headquarters in the principal cities of the region.

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184 Moreira-Passarinho, (170) as communities practically divided
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170. For analytic purposes, we are considering Passarinho and Moreira as making up a single community, since for all practical purposes they occupy a single reservation (cf. Chapter V).

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into two different politico-religious groups; and c) União, Aldeinha, and Francisco Horta, as "Protestant" communities in view of the fact that the totality (or near totality) of their members have already adopted the "new creed," or else that it is in the process of being adopted, (171) without having on

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171. Such communities are also characterized by the fact that they present a standard of living considerably higher than that of the other communities.

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Nevertheless, nothing permits us to set up a causal correlation between "Protestantism" and economic development.

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Other variables deserve consideration, such as the Terêna-Kaiwá competition in Francisco Horta, or the União group's need for self-sufficiency, in view of the total lack of interest on the part of the S. P. I. for the fate of that small and independent community. On the other hand, we found in the

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"Protestant" nucleus of Água Azul, in the Buriti reservation, the lowest standard of living, while we ascertained in Bananal that the wealthiest families were "Catholic" or were already in favorable economic conditions when converted to Protestantism.

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this account divided the community into two antagonistic religious groups.

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The socio-cultural variations indicated so far have served to show that the Terêna population, settled in aldeas, despite the different configurations and the diversity of experiences it has undergone, has maintained on the whole a relatively constant behavior. But while this behavior developed different styles (such as the pious attitude of the "Believers" and the freer comportment of the "Catholics"), this does not mean that it varies sufficiently for us to regard as legitimate the existence of two or more Terêna subcultures brought about as a result of the acculturation process. This, we believe, has been sufficiently demonstrated.

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Nevertheless, this work would not attain its objectives if we did not /110/ consider another facet of the problem of the interaction of the Terêna with the Brazilian society of southern Mato Grosso: the mobility of part of the Terêna population, who, as separate individuals or as families, leave their aldeas of origin and go on to live in cities such as Miranda, Aquidauana, and Campo Grande. Nothing has yet been said about this numerically inferior portion of the Terêna population, which is nevertheless considerable. Acculturation and mobility, as two dimensions of the same process--which we shall call assimilation--will be the themes of the next chapter.

/115 cont./ An interesting
178 example of the importance of this recreational institution in
535 the old communities--group (a)--, although they may, like
797 Limão Verde, have a multiple ethnic composition, is the re-
796 birth of the "bate pau" thanks to the action of the Redemptorist padres who took upon themselves the role of "producer." It seems that the first attempt was made on January 20, St. Sebastian Day, when there was a procession that included among its members, "in closed /116/ ranks," the group of dancers of the "bate pau!" This shows the strategic use of "secular games" in religious ceremonies. And the result of this was so positive that the Redemptorists were scheduling a repeat performance for August 1, day of St. Alfonso, patron of Limão Verde. (185)

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185. I do not believe that it would be difficult to revive these "secular games" in the communities of Brejão or Passarinho, in view not only of their homogeneous ethnic composition but of their relative antiquity, which makes them likely to include some old Terêna individuals familiar with the "scenes and steps." Moreira, an aldea even more recent in origin than Passarinho, was formed almost exclusively by individuals coming from the fazendas, most of whom had never seen a "bate pau" or a "little-horse race," which would make their

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Paraguayan war to the passage of the Rondon Commission--, baptism and consequently the compadrio system (in its most formal form) was almost a compulsory affair, during the visits of the padres to the "colônias," generally with the consent of the fazendeiro. The surnames that the Terêna carry today, adopted from their godparents, are a witness to that period. At present, with the probable exception of the population that still resides on fazendas, this is no longer of such frequent occurrence: in the aldeas, the intra- and intertribal compadrio system is almost absolute, (204) thus strengthening the tribal

204. In the aldeas, the only "Purutuya" godparent is the post superintendent, for obvious reasons.

solidarity threatened by the intense process of change to which the group has been subjected; in the cities, the interethnic compadrio is more common, not only because the field is naturally broader, but especially owing to the Indian's desire to rise socially through this. It is evident that the same mechanisms function here as those that lead individuals from the poorer classes to seek, by the technique of the compadrio, to rise on the social scale; it is only that in relation to ethnic groups--as is the case with the Terêna--, the compadrio represents, rather than social climbing, integration into the dominant structure. Nevertheless, it is unnecessary to underscore the fact that the compadrio is a technique rarely utilized by individuals of the soi disant Protestant group: the institution with results parallel /135/ to the compadrio for the "Believer," is the Evangelical fraternity that is built on worship groups.

4. Among all of the acculturative agencies that have undermined tribal resistance to change, the most effective have been the religious missions. Since this is true of all the indigenous groups that were subjected to religious proselytism

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or catechization, in the Americas, in Asia, or in Africa, as is well attested to by a copious bibliography, the Terêna, obviously, did not escape this contingency. In the two preceding chapters, especially in Chapter VI, we paid considerable attention to the consequences of religious proselytism, insofar as the configuration of the communities that underwent it is concerned (dividing them into two antagonistic politico-religious groups), as well as the role that the missions played and continue to play in the acculturation process. It remains for us to indicate, in this chapter, to what extent the activities of the missions permit us to regard them as convergent factors in the assimilation process.

As was already said, religious proselytism cannot be understood if we take the missions as a whole, without differentiating the Catholic from the Protestant action. Both have aspects that are peculiarly their own. The action of the Catholic missions, especially in the 19th century, must have been relatively efficient in the task of breaking down and disordering the old Terêna religion, even though it did not succeed in introducing a system of beliefs that was more or less coherent and able to diminish the "cultural distance" between that tribal population and the European civilization represented by its missionaries. It seems that the only result of this missionary activity--as far as the tribal ideology is concerned--was to create a new identity for the Indian: that of Christian. This identity was accepted by the Terêna as the equivalent of that of "civilizado," but it was not on this account accepted as such by the "Purutuya," to whom the Indian continued to be a "hick." The distance between the "Purutuya" and the Indian, at that time, was much greater than the one that exists today, in view of the fact, for example, that the Terêna only began to use clothes or to become a characteristically bilingual group in the 20th century, to cite some of the most evident aspects. The concept of "Catholic," as a category of personal or group identification, arose recently, as the result of

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*177 Protestant penetration which made the designation "Christian"
797 too broad. But since /136/ no effective Catholic action was
771 developed parallel to the Protestant action, the "Catholic"
795 Indians continued to identify themselves as such to the neo-
[829] Brazilian population, more out of habit than conviction, thus
[186] reflecting merely conservatory positions. The Protestant ideology, on the other hand, ushered in by means of far more effective techniques--to which we referred in Chapter VI--ended by galvanizing part of the Terêna population, a minority, but which came to acquire a far more powerful "group consciousness" or "party consciousness." The mechanisms that operated in the conversion, or more precisely, in the recruitment of individuals into the new politico-religious group, were already examined in the above-mentioned chapter. It should merely be underscored, regarding the Terêna as a whole and excluding individual cases, that these mechanisms reflect a tendency of the group toward change (far greater than the present conservative mechanisms that operate in the maintenance of the soi-disant Catholic group), and consequently opening the way to
*177 assimilation. Thus we had, in the activity of the Catholic
797 missions of the last century, (205) an important instrument of

205. The missionaries who came to work more intensively with the Terêna were the Franciscan brothers, who took the place of the Jesuit padres after 1767, the date when the Society of Jesus was expelled. In Chapter IV, we showed the precarious contact that the Terêna had with the sparse neo-Brazilian population and with the missions until the Paraguayan war.

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Even so, this contact arrived at getting more positive results than the Redemptorists are getting now, because at the time there was no Protestant competition, and secondly, probably, owing to the intrinsic inefficiency of these Redemptorists, who are perhaps more concerned with work in the cities and in the neo-Brazilian settlements.

*177 797 disturbance of tribal ideology, although it was not in any way decisive in breaking down the group's resistance to change, to which far more powerful factors such as captivity and social disorganization contributed. But there is no question that this missionary activity became a convergent factor, not very different in kind from that resulting from Protestant action in the present century. It may be said that the role of the Redemptorist padres can be said to have passed to a secondary plane of importance, because it does not have results so positive (as tools of culture change) as those reached by their predecessors or by their present competitors, the Protestants.

175 *177 648 [721] [729] 5. The participation of the Terêna in regional or national politics began in 1864, when they had to enter the Brazilian-Paraguayan conflict, /two plates appear here/ /137/ as allies of the Imperial forces and in defense of their aldeas, invaded and looted by the troops of Solano Lopez. This date probably marks the birth of political consciousness in its most elementary sense, such as the awareness of the existence of a broader category, called the Brazilian nation, to which they obligatorily went on to belong, with many duties and without any rights. The Republic and the revolutions that took place until 1930-32 had their reverberations in southern Mato Grosso.

[text continues on p. 197]

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131 The territory of the Tereno /Terena/ Indians extends west
[361] of the Brazilian city of Miranda to the Bolivian border. Their
first village lies two leguas, the last one about 12-14 leguas,
101 from the above-mentioned city. The Terenos are Chaco Indians
[167] and migrated about 60 years ago from the Bolivian Chaco to their
present habitation site. In external appearance they greatly
resemble the Lenguas and have also some customs and practices
142 in common with them. The men are mostly slender and tall,
and at the same time muscular; the women are medium-sized,
likewise robust, and many are corpulent. The /405/ face is
broad with prominent cheekbones, the nose broad, pressed flat,
the nostrils large, the eyes dark-brown, the mouth wide, pro-
302 truding, the hair blue-black, stiff, and coarse. Most pluck out
178 the eyelashes and beard hair, but the present generation seems
to want to abandon this bad custom, for I saw some young girls
771 and men who were equipped with very beautiful eyelashes. The
797 Terenos call themselves Christians, despite the fact that they
have no notion of Christian belief. Their children are neither
baptized nor confirmed; also, they do not know our Christian
holidays. I never saw Terenos praying, and no one wore a rosary,
[178] which is considered the chief sign of Catholic faith here. They
[P 2] cling to their old customs and, like their forefathers, still worship
648 the stars. In the war against Paraguay they served the Brazilians
well, and as a consequence some caciques of Brazil held a
commission as alferes, which they showed me with great pride
361 and asked me to read it aloud. I visited six villages (aldeas),
[114] which were not very different from one another. An aldea con-
sists of three to six family-huts and some small ranchos. The
592 family huts are low, but very long and spacious, and in some of
them 30 and more people live under a common head. In most
cases this is the oldest man of the family. All the daughters re-
main in the hut in which they were born, and they marry there.
[591] As soon as a girl marries, a new bed is built, and the young hus-
[353] band moves into the family hut of his wife. In one hut I counted
12 such beds, which were set up in two rows, similar to a hospital.

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

of social change. The present study is particularly compatible with this approach, emphasizing as it does the function of the Terena matrimonial complex in strengthening tribal solidarity and its role in the overall fabric of tribal and intertribal relationships. The approach particularly commends itself for its more adequate handling of "conformity" and "deviance" with respect to social structure.

Whether recorded by us or gleaned from others, the Terena material on which the present structural analysis is based was all collected by evoking "tribal memory" through the use of older informants, since Terena, i. e., tribal, social structure has long since ceased to exist. On the other hand, for all practical purposes there are no ethnological data recorded before the 19th century. Even Sanches Labrador's 18th century classic, although dealing with the Guaná or Txané Indians, fails to mention specifically thetir Terena sub-group. Castelnau, Taunay and J. Bach, writing a century later, are the first major sources. Still, even though they represent the best ethnographic sources of the past century, their data on the then current Terena social structure are insignificant. Distinctive contributions in this area begin with the missionary Alexander Rattray Hay, who lived with the Terena in the village of Bananal from 1917 to 1920. By this time the group was already largely acculturated.[7] The only other studies based on field work are those of Kalervo Oberg and Fernando Altenfelder da Silva, which derive from a stay in 1946 in Bananal, and the more specialized studies of Herbert Baldus with reference to certain Terena culture complexes—such as on the mythology and the succession to the chieftainship. They were of great use in preparing the present analysis.

1. Social Stratification and Ethnic Stratification

Max Schmidt, studying the process of expansion of Arawak speaking groups, indicates as an invariable element in their communities the presence of prisioners of war, or simply "captives". He leaves us with this question: "It would be interesting to know by what means Arawak society (which he treats as a single unit—RCO) was able to obtain for itself, starting as an agriculturally based people, the position of lords over these other population groups, who became the means of obtaining needed production. To create under then-existing conditions

under which a phenomenon normally exists, it to study its "deviate", or anomic, forms. He notes further that these pathologic forms are the ones that determine the breakdown of social solidarity.

[7] The concept of acculturation allows a two-way application: (a) as to *process*, by which it assumes an explanatory character; and (b) as to *state* or "degrees of acculturation", by which it can be used for more descriptive purposes, as in the present case (cf. Beals, 1954 : 627).